789 796 [177] ancient patriarch worked himself up to a high pitch of inspiration, and predicted all sorts of good things for the Badagas with regard to the ensuing season and crops."

•773 [789] The following legend, relating to the fire-walking ceremony, is recorded by Bishop Whitehead. "When they first began to perform the ceremony fifty or sixty years ago, they were afraid to walk over the fire. Then the stone image of Mahālinga Swāmi turned into a snake, and made a hole through the temple wall. It came out, and crawled over the fire, and then went back to the temple. Then their fear vanished, and they walked over the embers. The hole is still to be seen in the temple."

789 796 Of the fire-walking ceremony at Mēlūr, the following account is given in the Gazetteer of the Nīlgiris. "It takes place on the Monday after the March new moon, just before the cultivation season begins, and is attended by Badagas from all over Mērkunād. The inhabitants of certain villages (six in number), who are supposed to be the descendants of an early Badaga named Guruvajja, have first, however, to signify through their Gottukārs, or headmen, that the festival may take place; and the Gottukārs choose three, five, or seven men to walk through the fire. On the day appointed, the fire is lit by certain Badaga priests and a Kurumba. The men chosen by the Gottukārs then bathe, adorn themselves with sandal, do obeisance to the Udayas of Udayarhatti near Kēti, who are specially invited and feasted; pour into the adjacent stream milk from cows which have calved for the first time during the year; and, in the afternoon, throw more milk and some flowers from the Mahālingasvāmi temple into the fire pit, and then walk across it. Earth is next thrown on the embers, and they walk across

796 ploughs, stars, sun and moon, snakes, lizards, etc. They then go into their houses, and wash their hands. Taking up in his clean hands a big cake, on which are placed a little rice and butter, the Badaga puts on it three wicks steeped in castor oil, and lights them. The cake is then waved round the heads of all the children of the house taken to a field, and thrown therein with the words "Sakalathi has come." The cake-thrower returns home, and prostrates himself before a lamp placed in the inner room, and repeats a long formula, composed of the various synonyms of Siva.

(262) In the month of November, a festival called Dodda Habba (big feast) is celebrated. In the afternoon, rice is cooked in whey within the hāgōttu, and eaten on mīnige leaves. Throughout the day the villagers play at various ball games.

796 782 A festival, which is purely local, is celebrated near Konakore in honour of Mahangkāli. A buffalo is led to the side of a precipice, killed by a Kurumba with a spear, and thrown over the edge thereof. There is a legend • 773 that, in olden days, a pūjāri used to put a stick in the crevice of a rock, and, on removing it, get the value of a buffalo in fanams (gold coins). But, on one occasion, he put the stick in a second time, in the hopes of gaining more money. No money, however, was forthcoming and, as a punishment for his greed, he died on the spot.

881 (841) (349) All Badaga villages, except those of the Udayas, have a hut, called holagudi, for the exclusive use of women during their monthly periods. A few months before a girl is expected to reach puberty, she is sent to the holagudi, on a Friday, four or five days before the new moon day. This is done lest, in the ordinary course of events, the first menstruation should commence on an inauspicious day. The girl remains in the holagudi one

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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days. Nearly three thousand females, and six thousand males, assembled on Thursday. To crown all the confusion, there appeared nearly a thousand Badagas armed with new mamotis (spades). They came on dancing for some distance, rushed into the crowd, and danced round the car. These Badagas belonged to a gang of public works, local fund, and municipal maistries. On the last day a sheep was slaughtered in honour of the deity. The musicians throughout the festivities were Kotas and Kurumbas. The dancing of the men of three score showed that they danced to music, and the stepping was admirable, while the dancing of young men did not show that they had any idea of dancing, or either taste or knowledge of music. They were merely skipping and jumping. This shows that the old art of the Badaga dance is fast decaying." The cot is eventually burnt at the burning-ground, as if it contained a corpse.

A kind of edible truffle (*Mylitta lapidescens*) is known as little man's bread on the Nīlgiris. The Badaga legendary name for it is Pāndva-unna-buthi, or dwarf bundle of food,* *i.e.*, food of the dwarfs, who are supposed once to have inhabited the Nīlgiris and built the pāndu kūlis or kistvaens.

The story goes that Lord Elphinstone, a former Governor of Madras, was anxious to build a residence at Kaiti. But the Badagas, who had on the desired site a sacred tree, would not part with the land. The Governor's steward succeeded in making the Badaga headman drunk, and secured, for a rental of thirty-five rupees annually, the site, whereon a villa was built, which now belongs to the Basel Mission.†

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* Report, Government Botanic Gardens, Nilgiris, 1903.

† E. Schmidt. Reise nach Sudindien, 1894.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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614 dominates because of its size, for it consists of some twenty-five families, as compared with the four families in each of the four (628) smallest clans. It is the leader of Ku:kalu clan who settles most of the disputes in these eight villages, although each of them has its own headman. When neither he nor the family elders were able to resolve difficult disputes in the past, the headman of Ku:kalu commune in the northeastern Nilgiris was asked to adjudicate.

162 The eight villages contain a population of about 800 Badagas, as well as several hundred Iruḷa tribesmen. While no intermarriage 177 occurs between the two groups, there have been stray cases of Badaga men keeping Iruḷa mistresses.

128 The comparable situation of a peripheral Badaga community living in the Wainad will be discussed below (see pp. 129–131).

NOTES

615 1. Grigg, 1880, 219. Their factual legends, devoid of supernatural elements, are
•773 in sharp contrast to the origin myths of such tribes as the Toda and the Santal; compare Rivers, 1906, 184, and Orans, 1965, 5.

000 2. Rivers, 1906, 36; Emeneau, 1937, 103, where the number of clans given for tōwfiḷy is incorrect; see also Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 125. On the priests who make sacrifice, see Rivers, 1906, 39–42, 71–72, 276–285, 354.

3. Srinivas, 1942, 32–38; Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 477. For the taboo on killing snakes, see Breeks, 1873, 104.

615 4. Diagram 7 roughly illustrates the hierarchy. A stranger to this community will hear claims of much higher ranking than the speakers would dare voice to members of other Badaga clans; here we will only present the most widely agreed-upon ranking. (The existence of a hierarchy does not *ipso facto* make this a caste society).

5. Ward, 1821, lxxi; Hough, 1829, 88. Their thread, unlike that of Brahmins, has only one strand.

562 6. Note, for example, the wives of Hućći in Diagram 5. The Badaga kinship
601 terminology is of the Dakota type (Hockings, in press).

000 7. heṇṇa du:ranta koḷḷu/danava sa:renta koḷḷu.

8. Jagor, 1876, 202; Francis 1908, 130–131. 'At a funeral the Badagas in general take off their turbans, but the Wodearu keep theirs on. Every Native, not even excepting the petty hill-chiefs [headmen], must bow down before them and pay them adoration'; Metz, 1864, 48–49. During the great memorial ceremony Wodeas are honoured with a bed on which they are invited to sit; Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 14.

177 9. There have also been a few irregular marriages of Wodea girls to men living
615 in Mysore State and the Kollegal Hills near Ha:sanu:ru; see below, pp. 216–217.

615 10. Grigg, 1880, 220; Francis, 1908, 130–131; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 72–73. The name *Wodea* actually means 'owner, lord, master, ruler'; Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 45, n. 510.

Badagas and all other Śaivites, as the supreme god. As is common in village Hinduism, he is worshipped in a variety of forms, each of which may appear outwardly to be a distinct deity. The most widely encountered of these in the Nilgiris are the bull, Nandi, and the members of Śiva's family, his wife Pārvati and his sons Ganeśa and Subramaniam. Badagas also worship the disease-bringing goddesses, Mari and her three sisters, all of whom are aspects of Pārvati. There are a few (mostly recent) temples to Viśnu, who is called Ranganātan, and who, together with Brahmā, is considered to be an inferior aspect of Śiva. Śiva is commonly represented in the temples of all Badagas, and not only among the Lingayats, by a stone in the lingam shape. This is supposed to symbolize the form of the universe. Each hamlet usually has a temple dedicated to at least one of these gods.

The second category of deities is that of the distinctively Badaga gods, who seem originally -- to judge from the stories told about them -- to have been the ancestors of the Badagas themselves. There are two important ones: Hiriodeya, an old man, and Hetthe, an old woman usually thought of as his wife (Harkness 1832: 110; Francis 1908: 316). Many hamlets have temples for one or both of them, and seem to regard them in each place as ancestors of the particular hamlet rather than of all Badagas. Unlike the other gods, they are depicted on temples in the distinctive Badaga dress.

The third category covers the gods of nature. These include such phenomena as sun, moon, wind, water and earth. They are not objects of protracted worship. There are no temples to the gods of nature; only certain patterns of respect. Thus, when a man gets up in the morning he salutes the sun as he says a brief prayer relating to his own well-being. When a man has to cross a stream with a horse, he should not insult the water by riding straight through it but should